LORD CHATHAM's

SPEECH,

IN THE

BRITISH HOUSE OF LORDS,

AT THE

OPENING OF THE SESSION,

20th NOVEMBER, 1777,

ON THE

DEBATE

FOR

ADDRESSING THE THRONE.

Taken Verbatim as his Lordſhip ſpoke it.

PRINTED A. D. 1778.

BRITISH MUSEUM

Hut. Sinclaire

HOUSE OF LORDS,

NOVEMBER 20th, 1777.

LORD PERCY moved an Addreſs to his Majeſty, congratulating him on the Birth of a Princeſs, &c.—and echoing back to the Throne the Sentiments which his Majeſty was graciouſly pleaſed to expreſs in his Speech, ſteadily to purſue Meaſures of Hoſtility againſt America, in Order "to recover the Affection and reſtore the Confidence of the Colonies,"—and in "*hopes* of *ſome important* Succeſs." His Lordſhip ſaid little;—and Lord Cheſterfield, who ſeconded the Motion, ſaid leſs.—Lord Coventry ſpoke a ſhort time: And then

LORD CHATHAM.

I Riſe, my Lords, to declare my ſentiments on this moſt ſolemn and ſerious ſubject.—— It has impoſed a load upon my mind which

I fear nothing can remove, but which impels me to endeavour it's alleviation by a free and unreſerved communication of my ſentiments.

In the firſt part of the Addreſs, I have the honor of heartily concurring with the noble Earl who moved it. No man feels ſincerer joy than I do, none can offer more genuine congratulation, on every acceſſion of ſtrength to the Proteſtant Succeſſion. I therefore moſt entirely join in every congratulation on the birth of another Princeſs, and the happy recovery of her Majeſty.—But I muſt ſtop here, my courtly complaiſance will carry me no farther—I will not join in congratulations on Misfortune and Diſgrace.—I cannot concur in a blind and ſervile Addreſs, which approves and endeavours to ſanctify the Monſtrous Meaſures that have heaped Diſgrace and Misfortune on us—that have brought Ruin to our Doors;—my Lords, Ruin is brought to our Doors.——This, my Lords, is a perilous and tremendous moment!—It is not a time for Adulation.—The ſmoothneſs of Flattery cannot now avail,—cannot ſave us in this rugged and awful Criſis.—— It is now neceſſary to inſtruct the Throne in the language of Truth—We muſt diſpel the

Deluſion

Deluſion and the Darkneſs which envelope it, and diſplay in its full danger and true colours, the Ruin that is brought to our Doors. ——This, my Lords, is our duty: it is the proper function of this Noble Aſſembly, ſitting as we do upon our Honours in this Houſe, the Hereditary Council of the Crown: ——And who is the Miniſter—Where is the Miniſter—that has dared to ſuggeſt to the Throne the contrary unconſtitutional language this day delivered from it? The accuſtomed conſtitutional language from the Throne has been application to parliament for advice, and a reliance on its conſtitutional advice and aſſiſtance.—As it is the right of parliament to give, ſo it is the duty of the crown to aſk it.—But on this day, and in this extreme momentous exigency, no reliance is repoſed on our conſtitutional counſels! No advice is aſked from the ſober and enlightened care of Parliament! But the crown from itſelf and by itſelf declares an unalterable determination to purſue Meaſures—and what Meaſures, my Lords? the Meaſures that have produced the imminent perils that threaten us, the Meaſures that have brought Ruin to our Doors—Can the Miniſters of the day now preſume to expect a continuance of Support in this ruinous Infatuation?

ſatuation?—Can Parliament be ſo dead to its dignity and its duty as to be thus deluded into the loſs of the one, and the violation of the other? To give an unlimited Credit and Support for the "ſteady" perſeverance in Meaſures,—*That* is the word, and the conduct, not propoſed for our parliamentary advice, but dictated and forced upon us,----in Meaſures, I ſay, my Lords, which have reduced this late-flouriſhing Empire to Ruin and Contempt.——"But yeſterday,—"and England might have ſtood againſt the "world,—Now, none ſo poor—to do her re-"verence."—I uſe the words of a Poet; but though it be poetry it is no fiction.—It is a ſhameful truth, that not alone the power and ſtrength of this country are waſting away and expiring, but her well-earned Glories, her true Honour, and ſubſtantial Dignity are ſacrificed.——France, my Lords, has inſulted you;—ſhe has encouraged and ſuſtained America:—and whether America be wrong or right, the dignity of this country ought to ſpurn at the officious inſult of French interference.—The Miniſters and Embaſſadors of thoſe who are called Rebels and Enemies, are in Paris!—In Paris, they tranſact the reciprocal intereſts of America and France! Can there be a more humiliating Diſgrace?

Do

Do they dare to reſent it? Do they preſume even to limit a vindication of their honour and the dignity of the ſtate, by requiring the diſmiſſal of theſe haughty Plenipotentiaries? Such is the degradation to which they have reduced the Glories of England! the people whom they affected to call contemptible Rebels, but whoſe growing power has at laſt obtained the name of Enemies,—the people with whom they have engaged this country in war, and againſt whom they now command our implicit ſupport in every meaſure of deſperate Hoſtility;—This people, deſpiſed as Rebels, or acknowledged as Enemies, are abetted againſt you, ſupplied with every military ſtore, their intereſts conſulted, and their Embaſſadors entertained, by your inveterate Foe of France!—And our Miniſters dare not interpoſe with dignity or effect.—Is this the Honour of a great Kingdom? Is this the indignant Spirit of England, who but "*Yeſterday*" gave laws to the Houſe of Bourbon?—My Lords, the dignity of Nations demands a deciſive conduct in a ſituation like this.—Even when the greateſt Prince that perhaps this country ever ſaw, filled our Throne, the requiſition of a Spaniſh General, on a ſimilar ſubject, was attended to and complied with: for, on the

ſpirited

ſpirited Remonſtrance of the Duke of Alva, Elizabeth found herſelf obliged to deny the Flemiſh Exiles all countenance, ſupport, or even entrance into her dominions; and the Count Le Marque, with his few deſperate followers, was expelled.—Happening to arrive at the Brille, and finding it weak in defence, they made themſelves maſters of the place:—And this was the foundation of the United Provinces.———

My Lords, this ruinous and ignominious ſituation, where we cannot act with ſucceſs, nor ſuffer with honour, calls upon me to remonſtrate in the ſtrongeſt and loudeſt language of Truth, to reſcue the Ear of Majeſty from the deluſions which ſurround it.—The deſperate ſtate of our Arms abroad is in part known.—No Man thinks more highly of them than I do;—I love and honour the Engliſh troops:—I know their Virtues and their Valour:—I know they can atchieve any thing except Impoſſibilities;—And I know that the Conqueſt of Engliſh America *is* an *Impoſſibility*. You cannot,—I venture to ſay it, You Cannot conquer America.—Your Armies laſt War effected every thing that could be effected;—and what was it? It coſt your numerous army, under the

the command of a moſt able General *, now a noble Lord in this houſe, a long and laborious campaign to expel 5,000 Frenchmen from French America:——My Lords, *you cannot conquer America*:—What is your preſent ſituation there? We do not know the worſt; but we know, that in three campaigns we have done nothing, and ſuffered much. Beſides the ſufferings, perhaps the total loſs, of the Northern Force: The beſt appointed Army that ever took the field, commanded by Sir William Howe, has retired from the American lines:—He was obliged to relinquiſh his attempt, and with great delay and danger to adopt a new and diſtinct plan of operations. We ſhall ſoon know, and in any event have reaſon to lament, what may have happened ſince.—As to conqueſt, therefore, my Lords, I repeat, it is *impoſſible*:—You may ſwell every expence and every effort ſtill more extravagantly;—Pile and accumulate every aſſiſtance you can buy or borrow; traffic and barter with every little pitiful German Prince that ſells his ſubjects to the ſhambles of a foreign Prince;—your efforts are for ever vain and impotent:--doubly ſo from this mercenary aid on which you rely; for it irritates to an incurable reſentment the minds of your ene-

 mies:

* Sir Jeffry (now Lord) Amherſt.

mies:—To over-run them with the mercenary ſons of rapine and plunder,—devoting them and their poſſeſſions to the rapacity of hireling Cruelty!—If I were an American, as I am an Engliſhman, while a foreign troop was landed in my Country, I never would lay down my Arms——Never—Never—Never—.

Your own Army is infected with the contagion of theſe illiberal Allies.—The ſpirit of plunder and of rapine is gone forth among them.---I know it.----And, notwithſtanding what the noble Earl who moved the Addreſs has given as his opinion of our American Army, I know from authentic information, and the *moſt experienced Officers*, that our diſcipline is deeply wounded.----Whilſt this is notoriouſly our ſinking ſituation, America grows and flouriſhes:----Whilſt our ſtrength and diſcipline is lowered, their's riſes and improves.

But, my Lords, who is the Man, that in addition to theſe diſgraces and miſchiefs of our Army, has dared to authoriſe and aſſociate to our Arms the Tomahawk and Scalping Knife of the Savage?---To call into civilized alliance the wild and inhuman Savage

vage of the Woods! To delegate to the mercileſs Indian the defence of diſputed Rights---and to wage the horrours of his barbarous War againſt our Brethren! My Lords, theſe enormities cry aloud for redreſs and puniſhment; unleſs thoroughly done away, it well be a ſtain on the national character;---It is a violation of the conſtitution: I believe it is againſt law.----It is not the leaſt of our national misfortunes that the ſtrength and character of our army are thus impaired.---Infected with the mercenary ſpirit of robbery and rapine,---familiarized to the horrid ſcenes of ſavage cruelty, it can no longer boaſt of the noble and generous principles which dignify a ſoldier; no longer ſympathize with the dignity of "the Royal Banner,"---nor feel "the pride, pomp, circumſtance of glorious war," "that make ambition virtue."---What makes ambition---virtue? The ſenſe of honour. But, is the ſenſe of honour conſiſtent with a ſpirit of plunder? or the practice of murder? Can it flow from mercenary motives? Or can it prompt to cruel deeds?----

The independent views of America have been ſtated and aſſerted as the foundation of this Addreſs.---My Lords, no man wiſhes

more for the due dependence of America on this Country than I do. To preſerve it, and not to confirm that ſtate of independence into which our meaſures hitherto have driven them, is the object which we ought to unite in attaining.-----The Americans, contending for their rights againſt arbitrary exactions, I love and admire; it is the ſtruggle of free and virtuous patriots:---But contending for independency and total diſconnexion from England, as an Engliſhman, I cannot wiſh them ſucceſs.---For, on a due conſtitutional dependency, including the ancient ſupremacy of this country in regulating their commerce and navigation, depends the mutual happineſs and proſperity both of England and America.---She derived aſſiſtance and protection from Us; and We reaped from Her the moſt important advantages.----She was indeed the fountain of our wealth, the nerve of our ſtrength, the nurſery and baſis of our naval power.-----It is our duty, my Lords, if we wiſh to ſave our country, moſt anxiouſly to endeavour the recovery of theſe moſt beneficial ſubjects---And in this perilous criſis, perhaps the preſent moment may be the only one in which we can hope for ſucceſs: for in their negociations with France, they have, or think they have, reaſon to com-

complain.---Though it be notorious that they have received from that power moſt important ſupplies and aſſiſtance of every kind, yet it is certain they expected it in a more immediate and deciſive degree. America is in ill humour with France on ſome points that have not entirely anſwered her expectations:---Let us wiſely take advantage of every poſſible moment of reconciliation. Beſides, the natural diſpoſition of America ſtill leans towards England;---to the old habits of connexion and mutual intereſt that united both countries,----This *was* the eſtabliſhed ſentiment of all the continent; and ſtill, my Lords, in the great and principal part, the ſound part of America, this wiſe and affectionate diſpoſition prevails: And there is a very conſiderable part of America,----yet ſound;----the middle and the ſouthern provinces:----Some parts may be factious and blind to their true intereſts;---but if we expreſs a wiſe and a benevolent diſpoſition to communicate with them thoſe immutable rights of nature and conſtitutional liberties to which they are equally entitled with ourſelves,---by a conduct ſo juſt and humane we ſhall confirm the favourable, and conciliate the adverſe.——I ſay, my Lords, the rights and liberties to which they are equally entitled

titled with ourſelves, but no more.---I would participate to them every enjoyment and freedom which the colonizing ſubjects of a free ſtate can poſſeſs, or wiſh to poſſeſs: and I do not ſee why they ſhould not enjoy every fundamental right in their property, and every original ſubſtantial liberty which Devonſhire or Surry, or the county I live in, or any county in England, can claim:---reſerving always as the ſacred right of the Mother Country, the due conſtitutional dependency of her Colonies.—The inherent ſupremacy of the ſtate in regulating and protecting the navigation and commerce of all her ſubjects, is neceſſary for the mutual benefit and preſervation of every part, to conſtitute and preſerve the proſperous arrangement of the whole empire.—The ſound parts of America, of which I have ſpoken, muſt be ſenſible of theſe great truths, and of their real intereſts. America is not in that ſtate of deſperate and contemptible rebellion which this country has been deluded to believe.——It is not a wild and lawleſs banditti, who, having nothing to loſe, might hope to ſnatch ſomething from public convulſions.—Many of their leaders and great men have a great ſtake in this great conteſt;—The Gentleman who commands their armies,

armies, I am told, has an eſtate of 4, or 5000 *l.* a year;—and, when I conſider theſe things, I cannot but lament the inconſiderate violence of our penal acts, our declarations of treaſon and rebellion, with all the fatal effects of attainder and confiſcation.

As to the diſpoſition of foreign powers, which is aſſerted to be pacific and friendly, let us judge, my Lords, rather by their actions and the nature of things, than by intereſted aſſertions.—The uniform aſſiſtance ſupplied to America by France ſuggeſts a different concluſion.—The moſt important intereſts of France in aggrandizing and enriching herſelf with what ſhe moſt wants, ſupplies of every naval ſtore from America, muſt inſpire her with different ſentiments:---The extraordinary preparations of the Houſe of Bourbon by land, and by ſea from Dunkirk to the Straits, equally ready and willing to overwhelm theſe defenceleſs iſlands, ſhould rouſe us to a ſenſe of their real diſpoſition, and our own danger.—Not 5000 troops in England! Hardly 3000 in Ireland!—what can we oppoſe to the combined force of our enemies?—Scarcely 20 ſhips of the line, fully or ſufficiently manned, that any Admiral's reputation would permit him to take the

com-

command of:—the river of Liſbon in poſſeſſion of our enemies!—the ſeas ſwept by American privateers—our own channel torn to pieces by them!—In this complicated criſis of danger—weakneſs at home and calamity abroad,—terrified and inſulted by the neighbouring powers,—unable to act in America, or acting only to be deſtroyed;----Where is the man *with the Forehead* to promiſe or to hope ſucceſs in ſuch a ſituation, or from perſeverance in the meaſures that have driven us to it?—Who has *the Forehead* to do ſo? Where is that man? I ſhould be glad to ſee his face.

You cannot *conciliate* America by your preſent meaſures:—You cannot *ſubdue* her by your preſent, or by any meaſures----What then *can* you do? You cannot conquer,—you cannot gain,—But you can *Addreſs:* You can lull the fears and anxieties of the moment into an ignorance of the danger that ſhould produce them:----But, my Lords, the time demands the language of Truth.—We muſt not now "apply the flattering unction" of ſervile compliance or blind complaiſance.-----In a juſt or neceſſary war, to maintain the rights or honour of my country, I would ſtrip the ſhirts from my back

to

to ſupport it: But in ſuch a war as this, unjuſt in it's principle, impracticable in its means, and ruinous in it's conſequences, I would not contribute a ſingle effort, nor a ſingle ſhilling.—I do not call for vengeance on the heads of thoſe who have been guilty---I only recommend to them to make their retreat.----Let them walk off. And let them make haſte, or they may be aſſured that ſpeedy and condign puniſhment will overtake them.

My Lords, I have ſubmitted to you with the freedom and truth which I think my duty, my ſentiments on your preſent awful ſituation.----I have laid before you the ruin of your power, the diſgrace of your reputation, the pollution of your diſcipline, the contamination of your morals, the complication of calamities, foreign and domeſtic, that overwhelm your ſinking country.-----Your deareſt intereſts your own liberties, the conſtitution itſelf—totters to the foundation.---All this diſgraceful danger, the multitude of miſery; is the monſtrous offspring of this unnatural war. We have been deceived and deluded too long.—But let us now ſtop ſhort.—This is the criſis,—may be the only criſis of time and ſituation to give us a poſſibility

of eſcape from the fatal effects of our deluſions.—But if in an obſtinate and infatuated perſeverance in folly, we meanly echo back the peremptory words this day preſcribed to us, nothing can ſave this devoted country from complete and final ruin.—We madly ruſh into multiplied miſeries;—and "Confuſion worſe confounded"—Is it poſſible—can it be believed, that Miniſters are yet blind to this impending deſtruction? I did hope, that inſtead of this falſe and empty vanity,—this overweening pride, "engendering high conceits," and preſumptuous imaginations,—that Miniſters would have humbled themſelves in their errors,—would have confeſſed and retracted them; and, by an active though a late repentance, have endeavoured to redeem them.—But, my Lords, ſince they had neither ſagacity to foreſee, nor juſtice nor humanity to ſhun theſe oppreſſive calamities; ſince not even ſevere experience can make them feel, nor the imminent ruin of their country awaken them from their ſtupefaction,—the guardian care of parliament *muſt* interpoſe.—I ſhall therefore, my Lords, propoſe to you an amendment to the Addreſs to his Majeſty; to be inſerted immediately after the two firſt paragraphs of congratulation on the birth of a Princeſs,—to recom-

recommend an immediate ceſſation of hoſtilities, and the commencement of a treaty to reſtore peace and liberty to America, ſtrength and happineſs to England, ſecurity and permanent proſperity to both countries. This, my Lords, is yet in our power; and let not the wiſdom and juſtice of your Lordſhips neglect the happy, and perhaps the only opportunity—By the eſtabliſhment of irrevocable laws, founded on mutual rights, and aſcertained by treaty, theſe glorious enjoyments may be firmly perpetuated.—And, let me repeat to your Lordſhips, that the ſtrong bias of America, at leaſt of the wiſe and ſounder parts of it, naturally inclines to this happy and conſtitutional re-connection with you.-----Notwithſtanding the temporary intrigues with France, we may ſtill be aſſured of their ancient and confirmed partiality to us. America and France cannot be congenial.----There is ſomething deciſive and confirmed in the honeſt American, that will not aſſimilate to the futility and levity of Frenchmen.----My Lords, to encourage and confirm that innate inclination to this country, founded on every principle of affection as well as conſideration of intereſt,---to reſtore that favourable diſpoſition into a permanent and powerful re-

union with this country;----to revive the mutual ſtrength of the empire;---again to awe the Houſe of Bourbon, inſtead of meanly truckling, as our preſent calamities compel us, to every inſult of French caprice and Spaniſh punctilio;---to re-eſtabliſh our commerce, to re-aſſert our rights and our honour,----to confirm our intereſts and renew our glories for ever;----a conſummation moſt devoutly to be endeavoured, and which I truſt may yet ariſe from reconciliation with America;---I have the honour of ſubmitting to you the following Amendment, which I move to be inſerted after the two firſt paragraphs of the Addreſs."---

" And that this Houſe does moſt
" humbly adviſe and ſupplicate his
" Majeſty, to be pleaſed to cauſe the
" moſt ſpeedy and effectual meaſures
" to be taken for reſtoring peace in
" America, and that no time may be
" loſt in propoſing an immediate ceſ-
" ſation of hoſtilities there, in order
" to the opening a treaty for the final
" ſettlement of the tranquility of
" thoſe invaluable provinces, by a
" removal of the unhappy cauſes of
" this

" this ruinous Civil War, and by a
" juſt and adequate ſecurity againſt
" the return of the like calamities in
" times to come.-----And this Houſe
" deſire to offer the moſt dutiful aſſu-
" rances to his Majeſty, that they
" will in due time, chearfully co-ope-
" rate with the magnanimity and ten-
" der goodneſs of his Majeſty for the
" preſervation of his people, by ſuch
" explicit and moſt ſolemn declara-
" tions and proviſions of fundamen-
" tal and irrevocable laws as may be
" judged neceſſary for aſcertaining,
" and fixing for ever, the reſpective
" rights of Great Britain and her
" Colonies."

Lord Chatham was ſupported in his propoſed amendment, by Lord Abingdon, Lord Shelburne, the Duke of Grafton, Lord Camden, the Duke of Richmond, Lord Effingham, and the Biſhop of Peterborough.

Lord Abingdon was ſhort and ſpirited, but ſcarcely audible.

Lord

Lord Shelburne, as uſual, placed the ſubject on a great ſcale, and diſcuſſed it in a very ample and comprehenſive manner.

The Duke of Grafton ſpoke long, and with much earneſtneſs, preſerving at the ſame time what generally characterizes this Nobleman's ſpeaking, a decent and chaſtiſed ſtyle of dignity.

Lord Camden was argumentative, ſincere and animated. In addition to an underſtanding eminently acute, a perfect readineſs both of language and argument, and the ſoundeſt learning, this able ſpeaker poſſeſſes the moſt alluring ſincerity of manner---His hearers are not only convinced by his argument, they are perſuaded by his opinion.

The Duke of Richmond was a powerful aſſiſtant to the noble mover of the amendment. His Grace always makes himſelf maſter of ſome uſeful deciſive facts, which he delivers and ſupports, with a plain manly firmneſs, and with equal ſpirit detects and expoſes the miſrepreſentations of his opponents.

The

The Biſhop of Peterborough pronounced a ſhort and pithy opinion on the queſtion; cloathed in language uniting qualities rarely found together; it was both nervous and elegant. This Reverend Speaker is richly gifted by nature for public debate,----with a ſtrong underſtanding, a commanding voice, an awful aſpect, and on the whole a venerable ſolemnity of manner:----He anticipates the concurrence, by enforcing the reſpect of his audience. His ſpeeches are always ſhort, poliſhed and pointed.---Powerful weapons in his able management: and generally ſucceſsful, if not to ſubdue the underſtanding, to reach the heart.

Lord Effingham is ſo familiar and converſational in his manner and appearance, that he is in much danger of falling into the extreme of familiarity, againſt which, old Polonius cautions Laertes.

Lord Sandwich, Lord Weymouth, Lord Suffolk, Lord Oſborne, (late Marquis of Carmarthen) Lord Gower, and Lord Townſhend ſupported the original Addreſs againſt the Amendment.

Lord

Lord Sandwich entered very minutely into the detail of the navy, in refutation of Lord Chatham's alarming ſtate of it's weakneſs. His Lordſhip of the Admiralty is a circumſtantial matter-of-fact ſpeaker; with, now and then, a little ſeaſoning of not the moſt elegant humour. With nothing of dignity, grace, or eloquence, and with little argument, he is notwithſtanding an uſeful auxiliary. For, the confidence, or as he ſaid himſelf, borrowing Lord Chatham's phraſe, which he ſaid *he was not aſhamed of*, the "*Forehead*" with which he aſſerts his facts, and the importance he aſſumes from his official ſituation, create to him a ſort of credit, which (if it were not Scand. Magn. to inſinuate) neither his talents nor his integrity deſerve.

Lord Weymouth expatiated on the queſtion with conſiderable ability; and if not entirely with the dignity of a Nobleman or the deciſion of a Secretary of State, yet he always acquits himſelf with the liberality of a gentleman, and the ſkill of an able debater.

Lord Suffolk ſpoke with much ſerioufneſs, and not without ſome real importance both in

in manner and in matter, which if he did not ſtrain and endeavour to ſwell beyond it's natural ſize, would have more weight and effect. His periods are dulled and encumbered by a monotonous pompoſity, and his feelings ſeem to have as little variety: yet, from a choice of language ſufficiently claſſical, and an adequate knowledge of thoſe parts of the ſubject he adverts to, recommended by the neceſſary official conſequences of Secretary of State, he never ſpeaks without attention, and a conſiderable ſhare of reſpect.

Lord Oſborne is a ſpirited, manly and genteel young Nobleman.

Lord Gower did not on this occaſion go deeply into the ſubject of debate, though he often does, and with a reſpectable ſhare of information and abilities.—It may be ſaid that this Nobleman does not forfeit in the great council of the nation that rank which he ſeems to fill with dignity as Lord Preſident of a ſmaller one---comparatively at leaſt with the courtly ſpeakers that have been mentioned.

Lord Townſhend ſaid little, and in his uſual manner.---He is,---the direct reverſe of his brother Charles.

THE debate hinged principally on the leading points preſſed by Lord Chatham, the impracticability of the war;—the danger, or rather the imminent ruin to the commerce, the naval power, the liberties, the exiſtence of this country, from purſuing it; our domeſtic weakneſs inviting the natural enmity of foreign ſtates, &c. &c.—Beſides theſe topics, his Lordſhip's ſupporters entered into ſome large diſcuſſions to repel the arguments of their opponents. For it was contended on the other ſide, that independency had been always the determined, and was now the avowed object of America: to ſuppreſs which, and to re-connect her to this country, nothing but a ſpirited proſecution of the war could avail;—that the ſtrength of this country had been much miſrepreſented, for that inſtead of 20 only as had been aſſerted, we had now 35 ſhips of the

the line compleatly manned, or within 2 or 3000 men of being ſo: that ſeven ſhips were in commiſſion, and could have their full complement in a fortnight or three weeks; that neither our channel nor the port of Liſbon was in poſſeſſion of our enemies, for our men of war ſafely defended the one, and we had now a ſeventy-four gun ſhip at the other---that foreign powers were not ſo inimical as was pretended, for that France had given up the two Weſt-India ſhips, American prizes, that had been required: but that though they were as hoſtile as the factious enemies of this country could argue or could wiſh, we had a naval force ſuperior to the united powers of the Houſe of Bourbon, and a force that an Admiral of the higheſt reputation, particularly acknowledged to be ſo by the opponents of government, (Admiral Keppel) would not be aſhamed, as had been aſſerted, but was ready, to take the command of:---That the taking foreign troops into our pay, was the moſt expedient reſource in this, as in former wars; ---that it was in fact cheaper and much better for the country than recruiting at home from our labourers and manufacturers; and as to the employment of the Indians;---Lord Suffolk ſaid, "It was a meaſure neceſſa-

ry in fact, and allowable in principle; for that, firſt the Americans endeavoured to obtain their aſſiſtance; and would have gained them if we had not; and next, it was perfectly juſtifiable to uſe every means that God and Nature put into our hands."

Lord CHATHAM.

——" I am aſtoniſhed,---ſhocked---to hear ſuch principles confeſſed---to hear them avowed in this houſe, or in this country;---Principles, equally unconſtitutional, inhuman, and unchriſtian.-----My Lords, I did not intend to have encroached again on your attention:---but I cannot repreſs my indignation:---I feel myſelf impelled by every duty;----My Lords, we are called upon as members of this houſe, as men, *as chriſtian men*, to proteſt againſt ſuch notions ſtanding near the throne,------polluting the ear of Majeſty! " That God and Nature put into our hands"! I know not what ideas that Lord may entertain of God and Nature; but I know that ſuch abominable principles are equally abhorrent to religion and humanity.----What! to attribute the ſacred ſanction of God and Nature, to the maſſacres of the Indian ſcalping-knife!—to the Cannibal Savage, torturing, murdering, roaſting, and eating—

eating——literally, my Lords, *eating* the mangled victims of his barbarous battles!—Such horrible notions ſhock every precept of religion divine or natural; and every generous feeling of humanity;---and, my Lords, they ſhock every ſentiment of honour;——they ſhock me as a lover of honourable war, and a deteſter of murderous barbarity.—Theſe abominable principles, and this more abominable and ſhameleſs avowal of them, demand the moſt deciſive indignation.—I call upon that *Right Reverend* Bench, thoſe holy Miniſters of the Goſpel, and pious paſtors of our Church—I conjure them to join in the holy work, and vindicate the religion of their God:——I appeal to the wiſdom and the law of *this learned* Bench, to defend or ſupport the juſtice of their country:—I call upon the Biſhops to interpoſe the unſullied ſanctity of their lawns,---upon the Reverend Judges to interpoſe the purity of their ermine—to ſave us from this pollution:—I call upon the honor of your Lordſhips to reverence the dignity of your anceſtors, and to maintain your own:—I call upon the ſpirit and humanity of my country, to vindicate the national character:---*I invoke the genius of the conſtitution!*--From the tapeſtry that adorns theſe walls, the

the immortal anceſtor of this noble Lord, * frowns with indignation at the diſgraces of his country.--In vain he led your victorious fleets againſt the boaſted Armadas of Spain—In vain he defended and eſtabliſhed the honour, the liberties, the religion, the *Proteſtant Religion*, of this country, againſt the arbitrary cruelties of Popery and the Inquiſition;—If theſe more than popiſh cruelties and inquiſitional practices are let looſe among us,—to turn forth into our ſettlements, among our ancient connections friends and relations,—the mercileſs cannibal thirſting for the blood of man, woman, or child!—to ſend forth the infidel ſavage--againſt whom? againſt your proteſtant brethren.—To lay waſte their country, to deſolate their dwellings and extirpate their race and name, with theſe horrible hell-hounds of ſavage war! *Hell-hounds*--I ſay, of ſavage war.—Spain armed herſelf with blood-hounds to extirpate the wretched natives of America.—And we improve on the inhuman example even of Spaniſh cruelty.—We turn looſe theſe ſavage hell-hounds againſt our brethren and countrymen in America; of the ſame language,

* The Houſe of Lords is adorned with tapeſtry hangings, repreſenting the deſtruction of the Spaniſh Armada in 1588 by the navy of England, commanded by Charles Lord Howard of Effingham, Lord High Admiral of England, (whoſe figure is at full length) anceſter to the preſent Earl of Effingham.

guage, laws, liberties, and religion;—endeared to us by every tie that *ſhould ſanctify* humanity.

My Lords, this aweful ſubject, ſo important to our honour, our conſtitution and our religion, demands the moſt ſolemn and effectual enquiry: and I again call upon your Lordſhips and the united powers of the ſtate, to examine it thoroughly and deciſively; and to ſtamp upon it an indelible ſtigma of the public abhorrence. And I again implore thoſe holy Prelates of our religon to do away theſe iniquities from amongſt us:—let them perform a luſtration—let them purify this houſe and this country from this ſin.

My Lords, I am old and weak;—and at preſent unable to ſay more; but my feelings and my indignation were too ſtrong to have ſaid leſs. I could not have ſlept this night in my bed, nor repoſed my head upon my pillow, without giving this vent to my eternal abhorrence of ſuch prepoſterous and enormous principles.